

The Ambassador in Japan (Grew) to the Secretary of State

(Extract of telegram; Paraphrase)

TOKYO, September 12, 1940 - 9 p.m.  
(Received September 12 - 7 p.m.)

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5. I have expressed the opinion in previous communications that American-Japanese relations would be set on a downward curve if sanctions were applied by the United States. It is true that measures are now justified by our new program of national preparedness which need not fall within the category of outright sanctions. On the other hand, the probability must be contemplated that drastic embargoes on such important products as oil, of which a super-abundance is known to be possessed by the United States, would be interpreted by the people and government of Japan as actual sanctions and some form of retaliation might and probably would follow. The risks would depend not so much upon the careful calculations of the Japanese Government as upon the uncalculating "do or die" temper of the army and navy should they impute to the United States the responsibility for the failure of their plans for expansion. It may be that such retaliation would take the form of counter-measures by the government but it would be more likely that it would be some sudden stroke by the navy or army without the prior authorization or knowledge of the government. These dangers constitute an imponderable element which cannot be weighed with assurance at any given moment. However, it would be short sighted to deny their existence or to formulate policy and adopt measures without fully considering these potential risks and determining the wisdom of facing them squarely.

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GREW

"Peace and War" - Pages 569 - 573



駐日大使（グルー）ヨリ國務大臣へ

（電文敬奉意旨）

東京 一九四〇年九月十二日 午後九時

（九月十二日午後七時受信）

五、私ハモシ合衆國ガ制裁ノ手段ヲトルナラバ日米關係ハ惡化スルデアラ  
ウトイフ意見チ前ノ通信中ニ述ベマシタ。ハツキリト制裁ノ形チトル必  
要ノナイコトニナツタ今度ノ我々ノ國防設備計畫ニ於テソノ手段ガ今デ  
ハ正當化サレタトイフコトハ本當デス、一方合衆國ガ多量所持シテキル  
トコラレテキル石油ノ如キ重要生産品ニ對スル輸出禁止ノ英新ハ日本政  
府及國民ニヨリ實際上ノ制裁ト解サレ何等カノ形ニ於テ緩便手段ニ出ラ  
レル虞ガアルコトヲ考慮ヒネバナリマヒン、モシ日本ガ擴張計畫ノ失敗  
ノ責任チ合衆國ニ負ハストスレバ日本政府當局ノ慎重ナ考ヘ万ヨリ「ノ  
ルカツルカ」ノ國際軍ノ方ガズツト危ムデス。緩便手段ハ政府ノ對策ノ



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